

State Dept. review completed

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DECEMBER 15, 1973

DOE review completed.

TO LARRY EAGLEBURGER FOR THE SECRETARY
FROM: HELMUT SONNENFELDT

SUBJECT: COMMENTS ON EUROPEAN IDENTITY DOCUMENT

THE NEW DECLARATION (TEXT SENT TO YOU SEPARATELY) COVERS MANY OF THE POINTS WE HAVE BEEN NEGOTIATING WITH THE NINE, AND IN NATO. NET EFFECT OF NEW TEXT, THEREFORE, IS TO FREEZE NINE'S POSITION ON SPECIFIC LANGUAGE. SPIRIT OF DOCUMENT IS CONSISTENT WITH NEW EMPHASIS ON EUROPE'S DISTINCTION AND DEFINITION OF SEPARATE PERSONALITY IN TERMS OF OTHER COUNTRIES AND AREAS. PERHAPS MOST STRIKING IS HEAVIER EMPHASIS ON COMMON FOREIGN POLICY AND SYSTEM OF POLITICAL COOPERATION, COMPARED TO EC SUMMIT OF OCTOBER 1972. THUS, ARTICLE 9 CALLS FOR EC TO "PROGRESSIVELY DEFINE COMMON POSITIONS IN THE SPHERE OF FOREIGN POLICY." ALSO THREE PRINCIPLES OF COMMON POLICY MAKE IT CLEAR THAT "HARMONIOUS AND CONSTRUCTIVE" RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES CANNOT BE AT EXPENSE OF ACHIEVING EUROPEAN UNITY WITHIN TIME LIMITS LAID DOWN (I.E. 1980). SECOND PRINCIPLE IS THAT IN CONTACT WITH OTHER COUNTRIES, INSTITUTIONS AND PROCEDURES SHOULD PERMIT DISTINCT CHARACTER OF EC TO BE RESPECTED. THIRD, IN BILATERAL CONTACTS THE MEMBERS WILL INCREASINGLY ACT ON BASIS OF COMMON POSITIONS.

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TWO PARAGRAPHS DEAL DIRECTLY WITH OUR PROBLEMS, AND THEY ARE MORE OR LESS TEXT GIVEN TO US PRIVATELY BY DAVIGNON AT LAST MEETING STOESEL AND I ATTENDED IN COPENHAGEN.

THE FIRST (PARAGRAPH 8) IS SOME POINT THAT IS INCLUDED IN FRENCH NATO DRAFT: THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES TO US NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND FORCES IN EUROPE, BUT GIVEN EUROPE'S RELATIVE VULNERABILITY, EUROPE MUST HAVE ADEQUATE MEANS OF DEFENSE AT ITS DISPOSAL. EFFECT OF THIS IS TO EMPHASIZE INDEPENDENT EUROPEAN DEFENSE, THOUGH WITHOUT IMPLICATION THAT THIS DERIVES FROM LACK OF TRUST IN US

***** *WHSR COMMENT*****

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PARAGRAPH 8 ALSO STRIKES ME AS LESS HARMFUL THAN ANALOGOUS FRENCH NATO TEXT IN THAT IT DOES NOT EXPLICITLY CONTRAST SUPPOSED US-SOVIET STABILITY WITH EUROPEAN VULNERABILITY.

OTHER PARAGRAPH (14) DEFINES RELATIONS WITH US IN TERMS USED IN EARLIER DRAFTS: OPERATIONAL LANGUAGE IS "TO MAINTAIN CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE AND TO COOPERATE ON EQUAL BASIS IN SPIRIT OF FRIENDSHIP. THE LAST PHRASE IS AN ADDITION TO DRAFT SHOWN US BY DAVIGNON, AND PRESUMABLY IS TO PREEMPT INSERTION OF "SPIRIT OF PARTNERSHIP."

PRESUMABLY THIS DOCUMENT WAS COMPLETED SOME TIME AGO, AND DOES NOT REFLECT YOUR CONVERSATIONS. IT DOES HOWEVER PUT EUROPEANS ON RECORD ON WIDE NUMBER OF ITEMS, AND SUMMIT ENDORSEMENT MAKES IT UNLIKELY THAT THE NINE WILL STRAY VERY FAR FROM THEIR TEXT.

PARAGRAPH 14 IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE MILITARY PARAGRAPH 8 SEEM TO CONCEDE SPECIAL CHARACTER TO US-EC RELATIONS COMPARED TO EC RELATIONS WITH OTHER THIRD COUNTRIES OR REGIONS. STILL, THE MILITARY PARAGRAPH HAS UNDERTONES IMPLYING THE TRANSITORY NATURE OF US DEFENSE ASSOCIATION. AND THE PARAGRAPHS ON RELATIONS WITH THIRD COUNTRIES AS WELL AS THE CONCLUDING SECTION III ON THE "DYNAMIC NATURE" OR THE EUROPEAN CONSTRUCTION TEND TO PLACE EC RELATIONS WITH ALL THIRD AREAS ON THE SAME QUALITATIVE BASIS OVER TIME. PERHAPS WE SHOULD NOT BE OVERLY SENSITIVE ON THIS SCORE SINCE, TO REPEAT, PARAGRAPHS 8 AND 14, UNQUESTIONABLY GIVE US RELATIONS SPECIAL CHARACTER.

WHILE IT IS TRUE THAT DAVIGNON SLIPPED US TWO PARAGRAPHS AND GERMANS AT ONE TIME OFR OTHER FILLED US IN ON GENERAL TREND OF DRAFTING ON THIS PAPER, BRITISH AND OTHERS MAINTAINED EXTREME RETICENCE THROUGHOUT NONE'S DRAFTING. THIS IS THEREFORE ANOTHER CASE OF LESS THAN FULLSOME CONSULTATION WITH US, ESPECIALLY ON THOSE PORTIONS THAT DIRECTLY OVERLAP WITH US/EC AND NATO DECLARATIONS.

IN ANY EVENT, ISSUANCE OF THIS PAPER, WITH ITS PREEMPTION OF CERTAIN KEY ISSUES, IS ADDED REASON FOR PURSUING YOUR SUGGESTION THAT FRESH START BE MADE ON US/EC DECLARATION. SINCE FRENCH ORIGINALLY OPPOSED YOUR DECLARATION INITIATIVE ON THE GROUNDS THAT EUROPE SHOULD FIRST DEFINE ITS IDENTITY BEFORE IT ATTEMPTS TO DEFINE RELATIONS WITH US, JOBERT MAY WELL BE WILLING, AS IN NATO DRAFT, TO DO SOME QUIET WORK ON A FRESH US/EC TEXT. BUT WE NEED TO TAKE CARE THAT DAVIGNON IS GIVEN AN OPPORTUNITY TO BE A CREATIVE PARTICIPANT AND THAT SCHEEL, AS INCOMING PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL, WILL GET IDENTIFIED WITH THE EFFORT.

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